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25 AUGUST 1986

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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UKRAINIAN CC CONSIDERS ECONOMIC MEASURES FOR 1986

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 28 Mar 86 p 1

[Unattributed article: "In the Ukrainian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian CP Central Committee examined and approved measures for organizing the execution of plans to put into operation in 1986 the most important production capacities, residential buildings, schools, children's and medical institutions, and trade schools.

In the accepted resolution it is stressed that the decrees of the 27th CPSU Congress have assigned an important role to capital construction in raising economics to a qualitatively new level. In the current year the construction program in the republic has grown significantly. The volumes of reconstruction and technical retooling of operating enterprises have increased substantially. By government means alone it is foreseen to commission residential houses of more than 9.3 million square meters, a large number of schools, hospitals, children's and medical institutions and trade schools. This demands a large amount of organizational work and significant efforts by all participants in capital construction. At the same time, it was noted that the totals for two months of the current year show that the ministries, combines, and trusts still did not realize the necessary concentration of efforts, technology, and material resources in the basic directions, above all--in the building of most important starting capacities. In a few oblasts a low level of assimilating capital investments in house building has been permitted; the construction and installation work on a number of schools and children's institutions in the first half of the year is not as extensive as it should be.

Ukrainian CP Central Committee obliged the ministries and departments quickly to concentrate the necessary material-technical resources on the construction of projects underway. It is suggested that the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, the Ukrainian SSR Gossnab, the ministries and departments examine the possibility of moving up the deadlines for putting into operation of part of them.

The oblispolkoms, the Kiev gorispolkom, the construction and industrial ministries and departments have been entrusted to take stock of all residential houses underway, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, and trade schools which are being built in the territory of the oblasts to completely provide them with workers, equipment, and materials; to provide for the fulfillment of the

established plans for their commissioning, and to raise the requirements for quality of construction and installation works.

The republic offices of the USSR Stroybank and the USSR Gosbank are committed to increase monitoring of the work of the enterprises building on their own toward realizing plans for construction and commissioning of facilities.

The trade union organizations are to expand broadly socialist competition for commissioning facilities ahead of schedule, to activate work in the laboring collectives toward strengthening labor discipline at construction projects, and toward consideration for saving material resources.

The obkoms and the Kiev gorkom of the party should strengthen the organizational and party-political work by ensuring the execution of the plans for capital construction.

13174/12859
CSO: 1800/346

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SHCHERBITSKIY VISITS KIEV OBLAST ENTERPRISES

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 28 Mar 86 p 1

[RATAU report: "Accelerating Progress and Actively Improving Work"]

[Text] On 24 March of this year, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, visited the Kiev production association "Bolshevik," and looked in on the enterprise's shops. In the discussions which took place, the leaders, workers, and specialists of the enterprise expressed unanimous support of the decrees of the 27th CPSU Congress, and of the party's strategic course for accelerating the social-economic development of the country and for resolutely overcoming everything that impedes progress.

The general director of the association, V.A. Izvekov, secretary of the association's party committee, P.S. Kalita, and other leaders of the association and its sub-divisions described the practical work in implementing the decrees of the party congress. In this five-year plan the association must increase the volume of production and the productivity of labor by one and a half times. The collective was committed to provide the entire production increase solely through the output of new, highly effective technology, and without an increase in the number of workers. The discussion dealt with raising the quality and reliability of technology and, in particular, of lines for producing super-fine polymer films for the phototechnical and electronic industry, and also of shaper-vulcanizers of super-large sized tires and other types of modern polymer equipment.

The first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee told of the immediate organizational-political measures being implemented in the republic toward executing the decrees of the 27th CPSU Congress. He stressed the need for more effective use of the production and scientific-technical potential which was created in the association and for a reduction in manual labor. Much attention was devoted to questions of restructuring the organizational and educational work in the collective, of strengthening the labor and production discipline, and of improving the conditions of labor, lifestyle, and relaxing for the workers of the association.

Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy met on 26 March with the members of the Shevchenko raykom buro of the Kiev Ukrainian CP. The first secretary of the party's

raykom, S.V. Voloshina, told of the organizational and political work conducted after the 27th CPSU Congress, and of progress in developing practical measures for accelerating the growth rates of production volumes and labor productivity in the enterprises and construction organizations of the rayon. In the discussion it was stressed that now it is especially important to insistently perfect the style and methods of work, to make better use of personnel, to define precisely what needs to be done and how to do it in every sector, and who personally answers for the decision of one question or another.

Yu. N. Yelchenko, first secretary of the Kiev gorkom of the party and member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, took part in the meetings and discussions.

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CSO: 1800/346

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PRAVDA REPORTS TURKMEN CP CC PLENUM

PM261614 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 86 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent A. Grachev report under the rubric "Communists Discuss the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum Decisions" and the general heading "Strict Account": "Turkmenistan"]

[Text] Ashkhabad--Delivering the report at the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee plenum, S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, noted that the restructuring of work in the republic has produced visible results. This is confirmed by the results of the first six months. The economic and social development plans have been fulfilled in the main. The production of industrial output has increased considerably and labor productivity and capital construction volumes have grown. And a very important point--construction collectives have coped with the targets for the commissioning of housing and sociocultural projects.

Matters have begun to improve in the agroindustrial complex. Collectives in transport and the consumer services sphere have worked quite well.

The plenum heard favorable comments about Turkmenistan's oil workers, who have set themselves a difficult task--to stabilize oil extraction and produce 95,000 metric tons above the plan for the six months. Making skillful use of reserves and implementing scientifically validated organizational and technical measures, they have achieved their target. And they are not stopping there but are continuing to increase extraction.

The keynote speaker, speakers in the debates--Ye. Mitrin, first secretary of Krasnovodsk party obkom, D. Khalmuradova, team leader at the Frunze kolkhoz in Farabskiy rayon, G. Avdeyev, minister of the construction materials industry, Kh. Khankuliyev, oil extraction operator--and others said that many people's words are still at variance with their deeds. More than once, Ch. Gedzhenov, first secretary of the Mary party obkom, has given assurances about the establishment of steady work at an oil and fat combine. But the enterprise goes on failing to meet its targets. At the beginning of the year G. Mishchenko, chairman of the Turkmen SSR State Agroindustrial Committee, gave a firm promise that order would finally be established in the fruit and vegetable trade in Krasnovodsk Oblast. Alas, this has not happened.

Large dairy complexes with a capacity for 35,000 cows have been commissioned in the republic. But they are only half full. Large resources have been spent but there is no return yet. Fattening complexes are also working poorly and there has been virtually no development in meat livestock and pig raising.

In the 12th 5-year plan it is necessary to build, modernize, or reequip more than 130 industrial enterprises, eliminate the negative phenomena that have built up over many years in the agroindustrial complex, and overcome the backlog in the social sphere. The tasks are complex. However, not all labor collectives are working as intensively as they should. Quite a few enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses have failed to cope with the six-month plan. Turkmenistan scientists' contribution to the development of production is meager. Candidates' and doctoral dissertations are being produced, academic degrees are being awarded, and people are receiving large sums of money but they are not giving the republic's national economy anything. In industry almost 50 percent of workers are engaged in manual and heavy physical labor.

The plenum participants paid much attention to capital construction matters. The situation here is bad. Large losses of work time, a low level of equipment use, and poor professional training have plagued construction workers for a long time. But V. Zhulenev, secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, who is in charge of construction, A. Kabashov, chief of the Central Committee's construction and municipal services section, and M. Dzhumakulyyev, construction minister, are incapable of ending the pernicious practice whereby substandard facilities are handed over.

The plenum noted that many organs are still afflicted by bureaucracy and excessive speech making. Various monitoring organs have conducted many investigations into the demand for large quantities of paper and the transfer of people from their main work. Last year 212 checks were carried out at the Ashkhabad cotton combine, 130 checks were carried out at a machine building plant, and 35 checks were carried out at the Karl Marx Kolkhoz in Sakar-Chaginskiy Rayon. But there was not the slightest benefit from them. And in the first 5 months of this year alone, Cheleken party gorkom sent 584 decisions to the city's primary party organizations!

The plenum discussed a second question--feed production in the republic. Many major shortcomings and awkward problems have accumulated here in recent years. The feed base's general condition does not meet the tasks of intensifying stockraising either quantitatively or qualitatively. Feed crop yield is less than 30 quintals of feed units per hectare. Feed quality remains very low and feed storage, processing, and utilization have not been organized satisfactorily.

The plenum adopted the corresponding resolutions on the questions under discussion.

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CSO: 1830/637

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KIRGHIZ CP PLENUM: WASTE, FAILED INVESTMENTS HIGHLIGHTED

PM251013 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 86 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Razgulyayev report under the rubric "Communists Discuss the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum: and the general heading "Strict Account": "Kirghizia"]

[Text] Frunze--The participants in the regular Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Plenum visited an unusual exhibition before the plenum session began. The display stands showed the development of the republic's agroindustrial complex, capital construction, and the consumer goods industry. The bulk of the exhibits there were devoted not to successes and achievements but to blunders and failures, wasted millions, and tons not produced. The representatives of oblasts, cities, and rayons were able to see there the shoddy footwear and clothing produced at their own enterprises. Photographs showed the semiruin shells of unfinished livestock complexes and the figures shown in diagrams "cried out" about low return on resources invested in scientific research.

The exacting, critical mood was continued in the report delivered at the plenum by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee. He spoke just a few words about the successes of collectives which have made a confident start to the 12th 5-Year Plan. But the main attention was devoted to the obstacles still slowing down the restructuring process and the manifestations of inertia in workers' thinking and in the practice of economic management.

"Are there really few of us who are talking about improving the quality of consumer goods?" N. Kuzmina, a weaver at the Kirghiz worsted cloth combine, asked from the platform. "All the workers at the republic's Ministry of the Light Industry, headed by Minister D. Tentiyeu, pay lip service to their concern for this. But there is no intention of replacing obsolete equipment. Meanwhile, the stocks of defective goods are piling up at the depots...."

The number of complaints now being made to enterprises in this sector have almost doubled in comparison with last year. Losses resulting from shoddy work at construction trusts and the Kirgizavtomash association are not going down.

"The party urges us to spend resources economically and use each working minute thriftily," Ye. Galyaminskaya, a team leader at the Talasagpromstroy association,

said in support of the weaver. "But we sometimes waste entire days because of a lack of materials and the transfer of manpower from one project to another."

Communists are particularly concerned by the fact that there is a shortage of materials at construction sites, while the overexpenditure of cement and rolled metals in the Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Construction as a whole runs into thousands of tons. Equipment that has not been installed lies rusting and rotting at abandoned construction projects. Last year alone above-norm stocks rose in the republic by almost one-fourth to R217 million.

A good many instances of this kind were cited at the plenum. And, when talking about them communists tried to show the reasons for the negative phenomena and find specific ways to eliminate them. For example, B. Kembayeva, a milkmaid at the Dzhergalan sovkhos in Issyk-Kul oblast, spoke enthusiastically about the **role of primary** party organizations in the fundamental restructuring of all aspects of the collective's activity. This is not the first year that she has been elected party group organizer and has seen for herself what an effective force even a small cell of party members is and how influential a communist's personal example can be.

"Here is the main reserve for our acceleration," B. Kembayeva stated firmly. "And for all party organizations there is no task more important than increasing its militancy and activeness."

Acceleration and the human factor were also mentioned in the speech by I. Muratalin, first secretary of Naryn party obkom. However, they were not backed up by a single specific fact, and there was not even an attempt made to analyze the complex situation in which this oblast finds itself not for the first time. And yet the plenum report did not once mention Naryn Oblast among the laggards. And there were particularly incisive remarks about the tremendous resources invested by the state in pumping stations and irrigation systems, which are not yet yielding a return. Nevertheless, as usual the first secretary devoted a large part of his speech to requests to the Central Committee and Council of Ministers.

T. Zhyrgalbekov, first secretary of Chuyyskiy party raykom, also confined himself merely to talking about restructuring. In keeping with the spirit the times he has repeatedly campaigned for criticism and self-criticism. [sentence as received] But when communists, speaking at a report and election conference, leveled a number of critical remarks at him he repeatedly had the minutes changed so that there was not a single word to "undermine" his authority.

Kirghizia's communists also conducted a keen and impartial discussion at the plenum because they face larger and more complex tasks than ever in the current 5-year plan. Stagnation, sometimes even backward movement, in many sectors of the national economy and breaches of the Leninist norms of party life have created additional difficulties on this path. They can only be overcome by selfless work and an uncompromising struggle against everything which retards acceleration.

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CSO: 1830/639

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GEORGIAN BURO EVALUATES HOUSING PROBLEMS, CADRE ISSUES

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Jun 86 p 1

[Unattributed article: "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Buro of the Georgian CP Central Committee reviewed the tasks of the republic's party organization regarding the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on basic directions for expediting a solution to the housing problem in the country. It was noted that a number of measures were carried out in the 11th 5-Year Plan in the republic on a further increase in the volume of housing construction and improvement in the housing conditions of the population. Concrete measures have been mapped out for the elaboration and implementation of an all-round systematic program for assuring a resolution of the housing problem in Georgia. The obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms of the party have been instructed to keep at the center of daily attention all questions relating to housing construction as a top priority problem and one of the most pressing in the social development of the republic. They have been instructed to intensify control over the implementation of housing construction plans, to hold to strict account those officials who transgress the established order in accepting units for operation, and to put an absolute stop to any deviations from housing laws and the principles of social justice in assigning housing.

Measures have been approved for the construction of youth complexes and cooperative housing for youth. The obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the Georgian CP, the soviet and trade union organs of the republic, and the managers of ministries, departments and enterprises and their party organizations have been ordered to support the komsomol initiative in every possible way, to consider the construction of youth complexes as one of the important socio-political measures directed at improving housing and living conditions of the youth, increasing their labor and social activity, and retaining the young cadres locally.

A joint resolution of the Georgian CP Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers on measures for the development of the cellulose-paper industry in the republic in the 12th 5-Year Plan was adopted.

The Buro of the Georgian CP Central Committee rendered a pointed and principled evaluation of the serious shortcomings in the practice of selecting personnel for the staffs of party, soviet, trade union and komsomol organs in the Kalininskiy Rayon of the city of Tbilisi. The work of the Kalininskiy Party

Raykom in its present course was acknowledged to be unsatisfactory. The Central Committee Buro condemned the faculty style of work of the leadership of party, soviet, trade union and komsomol organs in the selection, placement and education of personnel of administrative staffs. The Buro of the Georgian CP Central Committee relieved Comrade Z.A. Lomidze, the first secretary of the Kalininskiy Party Raykom from the post he occupied for reasons of liberalism and unscrupulousness, a conciliatory attitude toward cases of appointing responsible workers to rayon level administrative staffs because of patronage, indications of personal devotion and kinship, and without a deep and thorough regard for their political, practical, and moral qualities.

It was called to the attention of the managers of party committees and of soviet, trade union, and komsomol organizations that they carry a personal responsibility for the state of work with the cadres.

An account of the resolution adopted on this question will be publicized.

The secretariat of the Georgian CP Central Committee heard the account of Comrade G.N. Sadagashvili, a CPSU member and deputy chairman for personnel and educational work of the Goriyskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Association [RAPO]. Tentative approval was voiced for the experimental service of the deputy chairman of the Goriyskiy RAPO for personnel and educational work in training and increasing qualifications, assigning personnel, and resolving social problems. At the same time, attention was called to the necessity to increase the concrete output from work with management cadres, and also from work with middle level and mass occupation cadres, to satisfy more fully the socio-cultural needs of the rural population in light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 27th Congress of the Georgian CP to energize the participation of RAPO in the fight against private ownership tendencies and other negative manifestations. The obkoms, gorkoms and ravkoms of the party were ordered to study the experience of the personnel and educational work service of the Goriyskiy RAPO and to create the necessary conditions for increasing the work and social activity of the population in the rayon agro-industrial association system, improving educational activities, perfecting work with personnel, and accelerating the social reconstruction of rural areas.

The Secretariat of the Georgian CP Central Committee recognized as correct and timely a critical article "Shooting Can Be Heard, Wine Is Being Poured," published in the newspaper KOMUNISTI, about the irresponsible, formalistic approach to the preparation and conduct of the final competitions of the republic's 34th Scholastic Games. The work, which was conducted by the Ministry of Education, the State Committee for Physical Training and Sports, the Georgian LKSM Central Committee and their local organs for organizing the scholastic games, was considered unsatisfactory.

The Tbiliskiy, Goriyskiy and Chiaturskiy gorkoms, the Sukhumskiy, Mtskhetskii and Akhmetiskiy Raykoms of the Georgian CP, the GSSR Ministry of Education, the Georgian LKSM Central Committee and the GSSR State Committee for Sports were ordered to review the question of the stringent personal responsibility of individuals who permitted irresponsibility in the preparation and conduct of the final competitions of the scholastic games.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee demanded that the gorkoms and raykoms of the Georgian CP, the Trade Union Council, the Georgian LKSM Central Committee, and the ministries and departments of the republic intensify control and increase the personal responsibility of managers of soviets, trade unions, kom-somols, and sports organs for the condition of physical training and sports work locally. Attention was called to the need for the all-round assistance of the GSSR State Committee for Sports as the leading state organ responsible for the condition of physical training and hygiene work among the masses.

Decisions were also reached at meetings of the Buro and the Secretariat of the Georgian CP Central Committee on other questions concerning the socio-economic and public-political life of the republic.

13052/12232

CSC: 1830/608

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK TRADE UNION COUNCIL HOLDS PLENUM

GF271114 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1600 GMT 26 Jul 86

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Council of Trade Unions today held a plenum in Tashkent. The meeting participants discussed the tasks of the republic's trade union organizations related to completely improving the work, life, and vacation conditions of the workers in accordance with the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The report read by Comrade Alimova, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Trade Unions, and the addresses delivered by the plenum participants noted that with the guidance given to them by the party organizations and in cooperation with the economic organs, the Uzbek trade union organizations are channeling the efforts of the work collectives toward successfully realizing the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the plans of the 12th 5-year plan period.

The decisions adopted by the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the appeal made by the CPSU Central Committee to the Soviet workers regarding the upgrading of the socialist competition related to the realization of their tasks within the 12th 5-year plan period have called forth a new level of labor and political activity. Many of the republic's leading production workers and innovators are supporting initiatives made by workers brigades and are demonstrating hard work. They are working in accordance with the slogan for worthily marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution during the 12th 5-Year Plan period through hard work and exalted objectives. The [words indistinct] workers brigades resolved to create a genuine atmosphere for upgrading work output and the work collectives are strongly supporting their initiatives. Their work is contributing toward the revolutionary achievements in the development of the republic's economic domain.

However, the plenum also noted that the oblast soviets and the republic committees of the trade unions have not successfully reorganized the forms and the methods applied in their work. Nor have they sincerely tackled matters related to the upgrading of the socialist competition, improving its outcome, and concentrating attention on achieving conclusive results--as demanded by the appeal made by the CPSU Central Committee. The republic's trade union organizations must completely reorganize their work related to create normal work and living conditions for the workers and to facilitate their vacation. There are significant shortcomings in this work. In cooperation with leading officials in the

economic field, the trade union organizations must make an assessment of the housing, living, and vacation conditions of the workers in a principled and self-criticizing way and take the required measures for removing the existing shortcomings.

The plenum also discussed the calling of the 12th Congress of the Uzbek SSR Trade Unions. A decision was adopted to hold the congress between 22 and 24 January 1987. Comrade Dogonkin, chief of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, addressed the plenum.

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CSO: 1836/423

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LOCAL SOVIET, CENTRAL MINISTRY WRANGLE AS CITY FALLS APART

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 86 p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent O. Stefashin: "The Red Line on the Map of Karaganda; Here's Where the Interests of Soviet and Department Clashed"]

[Text] The center of Karaganda or, as it is called, the New City, is circled by a heavy red line. The oblast's chief architect, E. Melikov, shows us: "Here is where 'they' stopped. For long--I do not know. They are trying to cross the forbidden line on the northwest outskirts and in the Bolshaya Mikhaylovka micro-district. If 'they' succeed in this, the city will be doomed to destruction."

You listen--it is as if an enemy assault force was landed among the Kazakh steppes. It turns out that "they" are peaceful miners who are selflessly accomplishing the plan for the mining of coal.

Karaganda, as is known, owes its birth to coal. Tens of thousands of people came down here for little more than half a century and the small mining settlement grew swiftly and...chaotically. At one time it received the status of a city, but it did not become a city in its full meaning: the adobe settlements which snuggled against the mines did not know where they began and where they ended. The status of a city required a different development.

They selected an area next to the settlement of Bolshaya Mikhaylovka as the administrative center. But a thick coal seam stretched there. The oblispolkom queried the ministry. From there they replied: the seam is no hindrance because (I quote) "it occurs at a depth of at least 350 meters and there is no danger concerning damage to the capital structures when filling in completely the space which has been depleted." In 1956, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry again confirmed that "further buildup of the city of Karaganda (New City) on the territory contemplated by the planning project is considered possible."

In those generally not too distant years new architectural structures appeared which adorn Karaganda even today. They were erected for miners and with the assistance of miners. Interrelationships between the enterprises and the local authorities developed satisfactorily and the city grew and developed, without a hint of misfortune.

At the end of the last decade the "Karaganda Coal" association, having enlisted the support of the ministry, turned to the oblispolkom with a request that it permit, as the miners express it, partial "underworking" of the city's central

districts. The plan, they explained, is becoming more and more difficult, the "rich" seams have dried up, but there are very rich deposits under the center of the city: twice as much coal as was mined by the basin during all the years of its exploitation. With underworking there are inevitable consequences: the mining of each million tons of raw material entails the destruction of seven hectares of the Earth's surface. Therefore, the ispolkom imposed a condition: the workings must be completely filled with waste rock. The coal miners agreed, but...in the Kirovskiy Rayon dozens of hectares acquired the appearance of the lunar surface. Almost none of the former structures survived. Craters 18 meters deep are preserved alongside the wonder.

The example of the old city warned against new errors. But mining engineers now assured us that they would conduct mining operations only on the outskirts where private small houses which are living the rest of their days stand. Their demolition, they repeated over and over again, will prove to be a blessing for Karaganda: the association will offer modern apartments, lakes will spread on the recultivated lands, and parks and squares will turn green. The promises were not reinforced by calculations. Despite this, the oblispolkom again gave its agreement, stipulating again that the mining must be conducted with the filling of the workings with waste rock and to strictly stipulated limits. As the experience of the same Karaganda shows, it is simpler than simple to give the most "reliable assurances". The mining engineers were not sparing of words and... they continued to take coal without filling in the depleted space with waste rock. The shifting of the rock began.

Here the oblispolkom should have admitted its error and rescinded the rash decision. Alas, it displayed its first concern only after four years. On its insistence a special commission of the ministry arrived in Karaganda. But, as is their custom, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry did not discover violations in the operations of its own enterprises and it defined the problem which had arisen as "typical of all coal-mining regions." Moreover, then a document was born which directs the mining engineers to "ensure the re-activization of reserves of coal beneath built-up territories."

The order, which was issued by the former minister, B. Bratchenko, announced the start of a new assault. Complete or partial destruction threatened 430 hectares of city territory, residential buildings with a total area of 600,000 square meters, 58 objects having a socio-cultural and domestic services purpose, and 17 industrial enterprises. The buildings of the city and oblast Soviets turned out to be within the danger zone! It was then that the "red line" appeared.

Even last year the oblispolkom could have stopped the operation of several shafts which inflicted the greatest damage on the city. An extreme measure, but justified. We close down plants because they poison the atmosphere and throw waste products in a tiny stream.... But here "Karaganda Coal is transforming the oblast center into ruins and the ispolkom does not hasten to call it to order. Why?

The explanation, in general, is simple. The slightest stopping of work will be substantially reflected in the economic indices of the oblast, in the total volume of whose production the share of the coal miners is almost 30 percent. Obstructing a plan is not the same as demolishing a house, for you see, they

are held strictly accountable , including agencies of authority. And this alone ties the hands.

I speak with the chairman of the gorispolkom, R. Ilyasov. I ask him: did the chairman see a map of the underworking at least once? It turns out that the gorispolkom does not have a map of the mining of coal beneath the city of which it is the master! Just how can it monitor how correctly the mining taps are being used and whether the destroyed land sections are being brought to a safe condition? The ispolkoms learn where the coal miners are now mining from the suddenly collapsing structures and cave-ins on the roads. Recently, a crack ripped open the building of secondary school No 100. This means that "they" have already passed the middle of Mikhaylovka....

Here is what I heard most often from the leaders of the city and oblast ispolkoms: "It is difficult to work with the miners, they are an enterprise of higher subordination. How can you hold them responsible if even trifles must be settled through the ministry?"

Actually, the Soviets virtually have no legal grounds for seemingly equal mutual relations with "Karaganda Coal." Almost the only path to coordinated actions lies through personal contacts. And this, as a rule, consists of requests and persuasion. The giant is "uncontrollable" for local authority. And nevertheless.... Did the Soviets utilize completely their capabilities in such a serious matter as the fate of the city of Karaganda?

Yes, the Soviet will not curtail the plan for the association. But it is within its competence to halt dangerous production and also to require observance of the law. I do not say that the oblispolkom looks at arbitrariness indifferently. It is suffering with as much pain as any of the Karagandites for what has occurred. But it does not become the Soviet to express its indignation with "oh's" and "ah's" alone. Decisive actions are awaited from them. But they have not taken sufficient ones.

At one time the oblispolkom saw to it that miners began to fill up the depleted space with waste rock. Although meagerly, the ministry allocated equipment and resources for these purposes. And what happened? The mine imeni the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution, whose mining share beneath the city's territory was most considerable, is accomplishing protective measures on only one ninth of the area. The others are doing even less. For a time the oblast and city ispolkoms hurried the miners, and then they stopped. The general director of the association, N. Drizhd, dispenses assurances for the future, and the Soviets listen to him trustingly, setting hopes on quick changes. But judging from everything, there is no whiff of changes.

One day I attended a conference of the surveying section of the scientific and technical council, USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, and here is what I heard from the mouth of the head of a department of the Central Scientific and Research Institute for Geomechanics and Surveying, M. Petukhov. To the question of what will become of Karaganda by the year 2000, he answered without philosophizing, "Either it will be torn down or they will build a new city."

Of course, the plan should be thought of and money should be considered. We also provided the following figures in the association. On the territories being underworked, hundreds of individual houses are being subjected to destruction and are being demolished. Their owners are being offered apartments and, simultaneously, monetary compensation. It comprises about five million rubles for the five-year plan. In addition, the corresponding resources are allocated to "Karaganda Coal" for the restoration and repair of buildings and destroyed communications. Last year, for example, the miners received 13.5 million rubles. They have been far from completely used, but this is the subject of another conversation. Tremendous sums are being allotted for housing construction: the association has now received 18.6 million rubles, primarily for migrants. And meanwhile, in Karaganda there is a catastrophic shortage of housing and the need for schools, kindergartens, and objects of culture and domestic services is great--they talk about this at almost every session of the Soviet. The miners often pledged to pay compensation for the damage caused the city. Compensation in kind was what was in mind: a home was smashed--provide a new one in its place, it was damaged--repair it yourself. This is not being observed in fact.

And this concerns not only homes. The fact is that underworking led to the instability of public services for the entire city. When land settles electric and telephone cables, water lines, and sewer systems break. Any underground mining is also accompanied by a rise in ground water. It floods basements and inundates entire settlements. And later rotten swampy spots arise in that place.

The working day of the deputy chairman of the gorispolkom, P. Soloshchenko, begins with the question: "How much damage occurred during the night?" One day I looked over the report which he had received. At that time 49 big instances of damage had not been eliminated and the residents of 244 tenement houses were left without water.

"On individual days," Soloshchenko sighed, "up to 150 instances of damage are accumulated. The most significant cannot even be extinguished in a week. It is difficult even to estimate how many assets floated away from the city budget and are still floating away through broken pipes."

And what about the plenipotentiary "tenant" of Karaganda--the Ministry of the Coal Industry? It and its association are calm--there should have been a plan, and what the city expects, they say, is the city's matter. In the current five-year plan the plans of "Karaganda Coal" for underworking, despite the objection of the oblispolkom, remained at the level of past years. Homes with an area of 400,000 meters and dozens of buildings for administrative and other purposes are suffering. The miners sent out warning of the impending destruction to 46 enterprises....

Clearly, the local organs again are passing resolutions and calling for order. And the miners are bombarding the oblispolkom with demands that the restrictions be lifted and the bans be cancelled. Letters and telegrams reach the republic's Council of Ministers, Gosplan USSR, and the country's Minister of the Coal Industry. It is declared in them as an ultimatum: if the oblast Soviet does not review its decision, the association does not guarantee accomplishment of the plan.

The estimate is accurate. The oblispolkom is being pressured from all sides. Almost every month the oblast's architect must provide explanations to higher authorities.

"There is no strength to resist, it seems that a little more and I will surrender," he says in a fit of temper.

However much we say and write: power is the lever which permits the Soviet to defend the interests of its electors decisively and uncompromisingly and to steadily implement the planned social and economic program. But when the Soviet comes up against the actual pressure of mighty departments, its rights remain but, unfortunately, for the present are not being realized.

The ispolkoms most likely have only one possibility to save the city from destruction--to halt the mining of coal beneath the residential areas. They say, it is not suitable to speak freely. But let us look at things realistically. The association will not be able to reorganize itself rapidly even with the active assistance of the ministry. Time is needed to bring the filling work to order, to make the necessary geological estimates, and so forth and so forth. But, you see, a city is threatened, and not a tiny city!

Thus, it may be that the Soviet will wait a long time to screw up its courage and, relying on the force of law, will decisively halt departmental willfulness. And let the cost of this be charged to the guilty one....

The red line on the plan of Karaganda was stretched like a bow string.

6367

CSO: 1800/456

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

IMPROVEMENTS IN PEOPLES CONTROL GROUPS URGED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 7 May 1986 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial on the importance of peoples control groups; the editorial is timed to the beginning of peoples control accounting-election meetings. The editorial points out that "the success of every enterprise depends on people. Thus, a qualitative improvement in the composition of peoples control groups and posts and their further strengthening through principled, active and diligent comrades who are experienced in public work are deemed to be highly important. It would be useful to learn beforehand the opinion of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations on newly-elected peoples controllers and to pay attention to their personal qualities."

/12232

CSO: 1830/641

KIRGHIZ CP FIRST SECRETARY MEETS WITH MPR AMBASSADOR

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian on 16 July 1986 carries on page 1 a 600-word KirTAG item titled "Discussion in Kirghiz CP Central Committee" which reports that on 14 July, Kirghia CP First Secretary A.M. Masaliyev met with the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador to the USSR from the Mongolian People's Republic, Ts. Gurbadam. The participants discussed the work of the people of Kirghizia and Mongolia to further socialist development and the need for strengthening trade and economic ties between the Kirghiz SSR and the MPR. Also participating in the meeting were: Deputy Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers, and Republic Foreign Affairs Minister R.I. Otunbayeva; Third Secretary of the Mongolian Embassy in the Soviet Union Ch. Batzhargal; and the Mongolian Consul General in the city of Tashkent, Ts. Buyantogtokh.

/8918

CSO: 1830/636

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

UZBEK OBLAST AKTIV MEETINGS--The meeting held by the Khorezm Oblast party aktivs today discussed the results of the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks of the oblast's party organization related to the effort required for realizing the decisions adopted by the plenum. Comrade Mirkasymov, first secretary of the Khorezm Oblast Party Committee, read a report. Comrade Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting. The party aktivs of the Kashka Darya, Samarkand, and Fergana Oblasts also met today. The convocations discussed the results of the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks of the oblast party organizations related to the realization of the decisions adopted by the plenum. Comrades Turapov, first secretary of the Kashka Darya Oblast Party Committee; Ashuraliyev, first secretary of the Samarkand Oblast Party Committee; and Umarov, first secretary of the Fergana Oblast Party Committee, addressed the convocation of their respective aktivs. Comrade Dogonkin, chief of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, addressed the meeting in Karshi City, and Comrade Ikramov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting in Samarkand City. [Text] [Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1600 GMT 19 Jul 86] /9604

UZBEK PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES SOVIET MEETINGS--The meetings held by the people's deputies soviets of the Dzhizak, Navoi, Namangan, and Tashkent Oblasts today discussed the 1986-90 economic and social development plans of the oblasts and the tasks of the local soviets and economic organs concerning the upgrading of economic productivity in accordance with the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress. The meeting held by the Namangan Oblast people's deputies soviet heard reports by deputies Karimov and Lepekhinaya on the way they are fulfilling their tasks as deputies. The Tashkent Oblast people's deputies soviet discussed the way the mining and metallurgical complex in Almalyk and the [words indistinct] union in Chirchik were heeding the demands of the environmental protection laws and the work and living conditions of the workers employed by the factories. Comrade Salimov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, participated in the convocation of the Namangan Oblast people's deputies soviet. [Text] [Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1600 GMT 19 Jul 86] /9604

KARAKALPAK ASSR SUPREME SOVIET MEETING--The 4th meeting of the 11th convocation of the Karakalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet was held yesterday. The meeting discussed the economic and social development of the autonomous republic from 1986 to 1990 and the tasks of the soviet and economic organs related to the fulfillment of the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress. Also discussed was the way the main directions of the plan concerning the reforms to be effected in the general education and vocational and technical schools were being realized in the autonomous republic. "The meeting discussed the question of organization. Comrade U. Kunnazarov was elected chairman of the Karakalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet and Comrade T. Kaipbergenov was elected as deputy chairman of the Karakalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This was followed by the approval of the decrees passed by the Karakalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium during the period between the previous and the current convocations. "Comrades Kadyrov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers Presidium; and Salykov, first secretary of the Karakalpak ASSR Party Committee, addressed the meeting." [Summary from poor recording] [Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0115 GMT 27 Jul 86 GF] /12232

CSO: 1836/423

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

GORKOM OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PRESS ROLE IN PARTY WORK

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 4 May 1986 carries on page 2 an 1100-word interview with Ramiz Baghyrly, first secretary of the Kirovabad Gorkom, in which he discusses the importance of daily newspapers in his work. He is asked: "As first secretary, what do you look for in the newspapers first, and what do you expect from them?" He answers: "Generally, I try to read all the articles. First, I look at materials and workers' letters which provide information on the atmosphere in the city, the state and mind of the collective, and materials which reveal the situation, advanced experience and mistakes in certain sectors." He adds that materials he finds in the press often lead to decrees.

BROADCAST MEDIA URGED TO ELIMINATE 'SUPERFICIALITY'

[Editorial Report] Baki KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 7 May 1986 carries on page 3 a 1500-word article by E. Guliyev, chairman of the AzSSR State Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee, reviewing achievements and problems in Azeri broadcasting. He points out that "television and radio broadcasting have become more varied and lively, and an effort is felt to remove the triteness which had taken root, and to take the listeners' varied interests more into consideration." He adds, however, that "there is much monotony; apathy has not been eliminated, and resistance to innovation has still not ended." He also criticizes television, claiming that "one of the important questions before us is completely escaping from superficiality and oversimplification, formalism and tastelessness, slogans and cliches."

NEW AZERI DICTIONARIES TO BE PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 6 May 1986 carries on page 4 an 800-word article by Sh. Ahmadova, worker at the M.F. Akhundov Azerbaijan Pedagogical Russian Language and Literature Institute, on the forthcoming publication of three dictionaries; volume one of the four-volume Azeri-Russian dictionary is due to appear; a student's Azeri-Russian dictionary is to be published; and the one-volume Azeri-Russian dictionary published first in 1965 is to be republished.

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CSO: 1830/642

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

OLD CONFLICTS OVER GORI SEMINARY UNEARTHED

[Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN MAKTABI in Azeri No 3, 1986 carries on pages 53-57 a 2600-word article by Amrulla Pashayev, docent at the A.S. Pushkin Tbilisi state Pedagogical Institute. The article is entitled "The Struggle To Convert the Tatar [Azerbaijan] Department Into an Independent Seminary." The discussions concerns efforts to move the Tater [Azeri] sections of the Gori seminary to Azerbaijan in the late 19th century in order to train Azeri teachers. This move was consistently opposed by the Russian administration, one of whom wrote: "If the department is moved to another city, it would fall under the influence of Muslim fanatics and turn into an institution which would harm Russian civilization." Proponents of a restructuring of the seminary, such as the Georgian Gogebashvili, claimed that the school's russificatory approach "was to the detriment of the Georgian language."

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CSO: 1830/643

PRE-WORLD WAR II BORDER GUARD ACTIONS IN TRANSCAUCASUS NOTED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 28 May 1986 carries on page 3 a 1500-word article by Major General M. Nasirov, deputy commander of the Transcaucasian Border District of the USSR KGB, on the history of the border guards in the Caucasus. He notes that "in the course of the 20 years prior to the war, more than 982,000 people violating the state borders were arrested, 1,319 armed bands were liquidated, and 432 million rubles of smuggled goods, including 2000 kilograms of gold, were confiscated."

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CSO: 1831/437

RELIGION

'CLERICAL EXTREMISM' IN LITHUANIA ATTACKED

LD181009 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0000 GMT 16 Jul 86

[Jonas Anicas Commentary]

[Text] During the period of general capitalist crisis, Catholic clerical extremism gained great strength. This was the reaction of rightwing circles of the Catholic Church to the 1917 revolution in Russia, to the appearance of the world's first socialist state, and to the formation of the world socialist system.

Typical of Catholic clerical extremism is the brutal extortion of the believers' conscience while using psychological pressure. Clerical extremism is given special attention by the imperialists in their subversive activities against the Soviet Union. Abusing the principles of socialist democracy which guarantees freedom of faith and performance of religious ceremonies, the strategists of imperialism hope that, with the help of clerical extremists, they will be able to use religion as a legal channel for spreading anticommunist, anti-Soviet views and sentiment. Imperialism in its inducement of clerical reactionism among believers of our country, is actively helped by the reactionary emigrant circles. U.S. President Reagan joined this dirty work in announcing the provocative "Days of Freedom to Baltic Countries."

In the society of mature socialism there is no social basis for clerical extremism. The natural development of the secularization process has embraced the large majority of believers; under the influence of education, science and strengthening socialist way of life, religious duties and interests are losing their importance. More and more believers understand that religious spiritual values and religious moralization do not correspond to the spiritual world of our contemporaries. Characteristic of most believers is a sense of civic duty, a keen interest in scientific information about occurrences in nature and society, and a positive attitude toward cultural values and the socialist way of life. Only individual fanatically and inimically disposed servants of the cult and individual activists in the religious communities sometimes yield to the influence of the imperialist propaganda.

During the last years manifestations of clerical extremism have also occurred in Lithuania. For career reasons of their own individual clergymen as well as individual religious activists quite often attempt to fanaticize religious citizens and carry on antisocial subversive activities among them.

The extremists adulterate atheist education work carried out by the Communist Party and Soviet state, depicting it as administration, and persecution of believers. They try to provoke misunderstanding between the believers and nonbelievers as well as between the servants of the cult and state of public officials. Society has a possibility to become assured that clerical extremism is not determined by believing in God alone, but by the hostile political disposition toward the socialist system masked by religious faith.

The source of clerical extremism in the Lithuanian Catholic Church originates from within as well as from without. First of all, deeply rooted clericalism existed not long ago in the country's economic, social and cultural life. The Lithuanian Catholic Church has always been a faithful servant of the ruling classes and a supporter of reactionary regimes. The church collaborated closely with feudal lords, tsarism, and the Kaiser and Hitlerite invaders. It had been especially closely linked with the Lithuanian bourgeoisie. The church has always been closely linked with private property and the exploitation of working people. The Catholic Church and the working people have always belonged to different classes, and in the struggle for social progress they have always been on different sides of the barricade.

There are many reasons for the negative attitude toward the socialist system by the Lithuanian Catholic Church. The incompatibility of religious-idealistic and scientific-materialistic world outlooks has played a part. However, the main reason is the clergy's striving to regain its privileged position in bourgeois Lithuania, its lost wealth and its large income. This conclusion was confirmed by the representatives of the Lithuanian Catholic Church themselves. For example, Bishop Pranas Ramanauskas, in his testimony on 9 April 1947 speaking of the reactionary clergy's hostile position toward the Soviet rule, stressed that the most important reason for this opposition was the church's loss of the privileged position it enjoyed in the bourgeois state system. Only then did the bishop speak about ideological and religious convictions which contradict the materialistic world outlook.

Therefore, the manifestation of clerical extremism in the Lithuanian Catholic Church is nothing but the regurgitation of the once strong and militant clericalism. However, this would not, perhaps, occur if international reactionary forces and the constituent rightwing church circles were not interested parties. Lithuanian Catholic clerical emigrations belong to these circles too. Reactionary Vatican circles lead a double game: maintaining canonical ties of religious character with the leaders of the Lithuanian Catholic Church while at the same time inciting extremism and supporting individual clergymen of reactionary disposition. The Vatican's rightwing circles assign to the extremist clergy tasks which are by no means of

religious character; that is, political tasks to transform the Catholic Church into a political power capable of undermining socialist society from the inside. Induced by the rightwing circles of the Vatican, clerical extremists demand freedom to propagate anticommunism under the cover of religion. The imperialist reactionary forces give them moral and financial support.

For these reasons, during the last years there have been cases of clerical extremism in the Lithuanian Catholic Church. However, not on one occasion did the church express the sentiment of the great majority of believers; it only expressed the position of individual clergymen and individual church activists.

The public understood that the extremism of individual clergymen or believers is not determined by faith itself, but by those individual's hostile political disposition, under the cover of religious faith, toward the socialist system.

/12624
CSO: 1809/3

CULTURE

YEVTUSHENKO INTERVIEWED AT LENINGRAD POETRY READING

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 86 p 3

[Report on interview with Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, in Leningrad, under the rubric "Our Interview," by I. Soboleva: "The Times Commission Poetry," approximate date 21 March 1981]

[Text] For two evenings, poetry lovers assembled in the Sports-Concert Complex imeni V.I. Lenin. They were there to listen to Yevgeniy Yevtushenko. His poems deal with what is happening with the world, with our country, and with us today, this minute; but they also are about the future we dream of, about a world without war or borders.

Today Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Yevtushenko answers our correspondent's questions.

[Question] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, what do Leningrad and its inhabitants mean to you?

[Answer] Without Leningrad you cannot understand Russia. And to be a poet without knowing Leningrad, without having been in this city is completely impossible. Here you can sense the presence of the shades of the great poets: Pushkin, Blok, Akhmatova. It was from here that during the war poetry spoke to the whole world through the poems of Olga Berggolts. Here the eyes of the Decembrists and soldiers of the revolution, the eyes of Lenin, gaze at us, into our consciences, all-seeing and intent. When I speak of your city, I think, first and foremost, of those who form its backbone—the working class. The Leningrad worker is truly cultured."

[Question] I imagine that it is difficult to appear before such a large audience.

[Answer] But I love large audiences. They contain a higher proportion of true poetry lovers. You know, I once had to appear in Chaykovskiy Hall in Moscow. There were people there (not everyone, of course) who had come just because it was difficult to get in and, therefore, prestigious. No, people like this are not the audience for me. It is not them I write for.

Currently, there exists a false theory that contemporary poetry can be subdivided into "quiet" and "for the stage." This isn't true. There exists but

a single division: into poetry and non-poetry. In recent years, not a single major poet has come forth. It is possible that poets are going through a period of accumulating material. But there is also another explanation: a person who has learned to make pretty rhymes and use pretty words hungers to get published as soon as possible. And he avoids controversial contemporary topics, thinking, "I'll save these for later when I'm famous." However, I am convinced that a social coward cannot be a poet. I remember, in our time, we went to the acknowledged poets to find out if we had the right to devote ourselves to Poetry. Today, the boys and girls come to me for something else: they want me to "push" their poetry. They're not even embarrassed to use this word. The main thing to them is to get published.

Nowadays, there are complaints: interest in poetry has decreased, poetry is published in editions that are too small. And yet there are some collections of poetry which, in spite of this, don't sell out. What has happened is that the reader has grown up. He has become selective. From the time of Pushkin and Nekrasov, the Russian poet has always been a defender of the people. If a poet does not carry inside of him, in his heart, a true interest in what the people live by, why should the people be interested in him?

[Question] You say that the reader has grown up, yet, after all, its no secret that far from everyone loves and reads poetry. What do you think is the reason for this?

[Answer] I am convinced that poetry is essential to everyone, with the exception of those who have grown completely callous. I don't believe those who say they like only prose. They don't like prose either; they are merely following the plot, without feeling the magic of the words. I think that a great deal of the blame attaches to the way literature is taught in the schools. Children should not be forced to memorize poetry. Forced memorization kills interest and true feeling. Here, a great deal is in the hands of the teacher. There is, it seems to me, one more factor undermining interest in poetry. This is the fascination of a portion of our young people with pop and rock music. I am not against music. All kinds are good, But when I hear that young people, who know literally all there is to know about jazz performers (even more than the performers know about themselves) haven't read Dostoyevskiy, and give up on "War and Peace" before they got half way through, I am terrified. Michael Jackson is indeed a good musician. But if he is more important, more interesting to someone than Leo Tolstoy, we, poets especially, have to sound the alarm.

[Question] What does the reader, your reader, mean to you?

[Answer] Selvinskiy said, "The reader of poetry is an artist." I say he is a coauthor. Readers' love creates the atmosphere in which poetry can be born. Literature is a solitary business. I too write in solitude. But I don't like solitude. After encounters such as I have just experienced in your city, I will long be sustained by the faces I saw, by those expectant eyes. They live in me. I'm not talking about applause. The main thing is the conviction that people are waiting for you to give them the words which are essential to them. My poems, including the very personal ones, are not merely my own confession;

they are the confessions of others. I have already spoken of this in my poem "I am the writer of all those who do not write."

[Question] You flew to Leningrad from America. There you gave many readings. What are American audiences like?

[Answer] Of course, they are strikingly different from ours. Our audiences are incomparably better prepared to appreciate poetry. In the city of St. Louis, I gave a reading for schoolchildren in the upper grades. It turned out that this was the first time in their lives they had heard poetry. What a change came over them! From indifference to understanding! In general, my appearances in universities and provincial cities gave me enormous satisfaction. I am not speaking of my own personal success, I am speaking of the fact that poetry helps the Americans to know and understand our country, and, thus, to trust it. And what is more, true art, whether poetry, plays or films, helps destroy the opinion, carefully implanted by Western propaganda, that our art is conformist, timid.

However, not everything went smoothly on this trip. In New York, I read before 4,000 people. In America, an audience this size for an evening of poetry is unheard of. Someone called up and said that a bomb had been planted in the cathedral where I was to read. It turned out that there wasn't any bomb, but when I read "Babiy Yar," the children of Ukrainian nationalists who had collaborated with the Fascists tried to break up the reading. However, the audience threw them out of the hall.

[Question] The majority of the notes sent to you express appreciation and understanding. However, there was one which says "It would be interesting to know whether you wrote your daring poems now or in the old days!

[Answer] Well, I can answer that, my last book, "Almost the End," has already gone out to print. And it takes a considerable amount of time between the time poems are written and the time they are published. And I have always spoken out against social indifference, bureaucracy, and much else. "Tomorrow's Wind" was written in the 70's. There the word "kabychegonevshisty" [approximate translation: "don't-stick-your-neck-outers"] appeared for the first time. "Cowards have few options" was written in 1957 and is included in all my collections.

There was another note which asked whether I didn't write my poems, which reflect the spirit of the times so accurately, on commission. No, not on commission (at least, not in the sense the writer means). Life commissions me to write these poems.

[Question] Not long ago, your poem "Fuku" was published. It has attracted great interest, but the reviews are mixed.

[Answer] "Fuku" is one of the major works of my life. In it I tried to make sense of the history of the twentieth century, which is all a duel, often tragic, between the revolutionary forces of good and freedom and the forces of Fascism in all its manifestations. I wanted to remove the heroic stamp

from the butchers, elicit hatred for the rat-like psychology of the Philistines. They reproach me for the fact that the poem is too open, that along with the human universals, there is much that is "overly" personal in it. But, after all, Humanity consists of four billion personalities.

I wrote "Fuku" because I wanted to help in the endeavor for peace, elicit social activism in my readers, remind people why they were put on this Earth. I realize that poetry cannot save the world. Yet without poetry, the world will perish.

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CULTURE

GRISHKYAVICHUS BOOK ON PARTY'S ROLE IN LISSR CULTURE REVIEWED

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, May 86 (signed to press 23 May 86) pp 37-43

[Article by Vitautas Radaytis: "From the Positions of the Leninist Doctrine on Culture"]

[Text] The high level of Soviet national cultures is evidence not only of the objective strength and advantages of the socialist social system in the formation and development of cultural values and the establishment of the conditions for the cultural formation of the individual but also confirms the validity and correctness of the purposeful national and cultural policy of the Communist Party as the leading force of this society. Whatever may have been the historically justified development of some culture or other and whatever the difference in the level of development of the cultures of individual peoples at the dawn of the revolution, for each of them a way was found for intensive development taking into account all of the peculiarities and special features of the given culture as well as the prospects for its further development under the conditions of socialism. And now, in striving toward new heights in the development of the multinational Soviet culture, it is important to trace the historical sources of this complex process, which even today nourish the culture of every socialist nation, stimulating its growth.

The book, "Partiya i kultura" [Party and Culture], of Pyatras Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, summarizes the historical experience of the Lithuanian Communist Party in the formation and development of the socialist culture of the Lithuanian people. The broad panorama of the most significant events and achievements in the cultural life reflects the critical historical stages in the work of the party and its influence in the cultural area and, at the same time, presents ample material for conclusions and generalizations, to which the introductory and closing chapters of the book are dedicated.

I

The problem of the interaction of politics and culture is by no means merely of theoretical significance--today it is one of the most current problems both in resolving the practical tasks of socialism as well as in refuting the fierce attacks of anticommunist ideologists. Especially in the current period of the acute ideological struggle, the book "Partiya i kultura" supplements

our ideological arsenal with objective and convincing arguments on the historical development of the culture of the Lithuanian people. It is therefore primarily under this aspect of the ideological struggle where one should examine the most essential theoretical and actual historical features of this book.

In their criticism of the cultural policy of the Communist Party of our country, bourgeois ideologists continue to rely on a position that distorts and vulgarizes its very essence, saying that socialist culture is strongly subject to circumstantial political goals, thus ignoring the specificity of the development of culture; there is constant repetition of fabrications about the "unification" of the cultures of individual peoples without taking into account their historically developed structure and about the supposedly artificially constructed, impersonal, "politicized" substitute of culture, etc. And emigrant ideologists of Lithuanian nationalism have for many years reiterated this falsified "image" of Soviet culture.

The idea of the "indifference to politics" of bourgeois culture and art has long since been subjected to severe criticism and not only by Marxists. The idea itself is nothing other than an expression and camouflaging of the class policy of the bourgeoisie. The influence of politics on the culture of any society is irrefutable and was precisely specified in the book of P. Grishkyavichus: "Politics, especially under contemporary conditions, permeates all areas of culture and often exercises an extremely great influence on their development." (p 8)

Another matter is what kind of politics and who is served by it. Based upon many facts, the book shows the goals that were being sought by the Lithuanian bourgeoisie in orienting the intelligentsia primarily toward "Western culture": this orientation was directed toward the establishment of a united front of "the public thinking in a national way" against social progress and the ideas of communism. It is difficult to present a more obvious example of politicization, with the help of which the fascist powers and their party ideologists sought to utilize culture, education and humanitarian sciences for national and anticommunist purposes.

The class egoism of the bourgeoisie was also manifested very obviously in the area of culture. This policy was opposed not only by the Lithuanian cultural representatives inclined toward the ideas of socialism but also by that part of the intelligentsia that did not sympathize with these ideas but truly profoundly experienced the stagnation and decadence of the Lithuanian culture in that period. And today the words of V. Mikolaytis-Putinas quoted in the book sound like an official accusation: "Cultural life in Lithuania was soon deprived not only of its intellectual and moral sources but also its material resources. This life did not reach the people, and the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, infected with a passion for profit, self-affirmation and careerism, were not overly concerned about it." (p 38)

As is stressed in the book, the answer to the question of what traces were left in the culture of the Lithuanian people by the period of bourgeois supremacy is of fundamental importance. Along with other important aspects, the question of what prospects were predetermined for the culture of the

Lithuanian people by the fascist system of bourgeois authority is by no means secondary. One of the basic "arguments" of the adherents of the bourgeois order is that two decades are supposedly not enough for a culture to blossom and, they say, it is uncertain how everything would have turned out had history prescribed a different course and had one continued to entrust the bourgeois authorities with the concern about the "well-being of the nation."

The facts presented in the book give very clear evidence of the orientation of the official cultural policy and the historical perspective that it could give to the Lithuanian people. "The ruling classes controlled public cultural activities and channeled them to suit their needs even in those cases even when some cultural institute or other proclaimed the independence of its actions (...). The main thing that the Lithuanian bourgeoisie was concerned about in the cultural area was the propagandizing of nationalistic, fascist and clerical ideas." (p 55) The reactionary and antipopular ideas were never fruitful for real art and real literature and the works created on their basis were devoid of permanent meaning. Also of no help were the different directions of Western modernism imposed by bourgeois ideologists and aesthetes, which, as is noted in the book, "contributed to the affirmation of tendencies favoring the elite and did not eliminate but put up barriers between the masses of working people and culture." (p 55) It is appropriate to remind ourselves that the bourgeois ideologists also made a tremendous effort to establish an essentially nationalistic historiography, which distorted the class struggle and the social position of the people in various stages of the history of Lithuania or completely ignored them along with elements of the democratic spirit in the history of Lithuanian culture as well.

The book of P. Grishkyavichus reveals the antipopular and antidemocratic nature of bourgeois cultural policy as an expression and result of its class strivings. The mere fact that illiteracy was not eliminated under the conditions of the bourgeois order in Lithuania (in 1940, there were still 185,053 illiterate and 228,551 semiliterate people--that is, almost one-third of the adult population) refutes more convincingly than any other fact the assertions still being heard today about the "uninterrupted flourishing of the general national culture" during the years of bourgeois authority.

Even in the difficult years of the underground, the Lithuanian Communist Party laid the foundation for the future work in the establishment of socialist culture begun back in 1918-1919 during the initial period of Soviet authority in Lithuania. Even then, not only was a program outlined for the work of the party in the area of culture but the first steps were also taken toward its realization, above all through the reorganization of public education--the "Basic link in raising the cultural level of the working people." And today, in reading the documents of Soviet authority cited in the book that proclaimed the beginning of a true cultural revolution, one is surprised at its broad scope and also at the realistic program for its implementation. The increase in the general cultural level of the people and the assimilation of previously established values of culture, science and art and the general democratization of their "cultural turnover"--those are the two directions in accordance with which the party in that period organized the work of all of its cultural and educational organizations and institutes,

whose tremendous positive importance in the life of the nation could not be refuted even by the representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia.

"The development of cultural life in bourgeois Lithuania," the book stressed, "fully confirmed the correctness of the Leninist idea about the existence of two cultures in the national culture under the conditions of class antagonism." In the especially complex and subtle area of cultural values, Leninist principles for their evaluation were always a reliable criterion in including these values in the turnover of socialist culture as well as in uniting the intelligentsia and representatives of culture, art and science to increase and activate this turnover.

The facts in the history of our socialist culture are evidence of how the Communist Party and Soviet authority applied this Leninist principle in practice. The book cites the 1919 decree of the Soviet authority on the nationalization of the works of M.K. Chyurlenis, which not only legalized the transfer of the works of the ingenious artist to the people but also reflected the real democratic purpose of culture and art: "Recognizing that the works of the thought of the geniuses of humanity cannot be the property of individual persons and must be available to the broadest masses of working people..., the Provisional Revolutionary Government of workers and the poorest peasantry of Lithuania decreed: all artistic, musical and literary works of M.K. Chyurlenis, in whose hands they may be, should be turned over to the working people of Lithuania...." (p 26). Indeed, as is stressed in the book, "communists were the first in the history of the Lithuanian people to begin to destroy all of the barriers separating culture from the people and the people from culture and to open the way to general literacy, an increase in the cultural level, and intellectual improvement." (p 30)

One of the main conditions determining the democratization of culture is the progressive social and political orientation of the intelligentsia. In the struggle against bourgeois ideology and its influence on various strata of the population, the Lithuanian Communist Party paid special attention to that part of the intelligentsia that through its work and creativity was close to the people, to a greater or lesser degree expressed the interests of the working people, and was prepared to give them support. When the bourgeois authorities, especially during the last years of their rule, hypocritically expressed concern about the "surplus" intelligentsia, they of course had in mind the constantly growing ranks of the progressive intelligentsia. In their secret meetings and sometimes openly, the representatives of the authorities and their ideologists not only accused the progressive intelligentsia of "being antistate" but did not hesitate to call for police measures in the struggle with it. "Agents of international proletarianism, "cultural Bolshevism.... Today such strained formulations sound ridiculous. At the time, however, they were an important component of the intellectual terror spread by the Lithuanian bourgeoisie." (p 37) The provocative attacks were often directed toward quite specific addressees: the book gives examples of the attacks of bourgeois representatives and the propaganda directed by them against P. Tsvirka, S. Neris, the journal TRYACHYAS FRONTAS, and the growing interest of the intelligentsia in the cultural life of the Soviet Union.

The serious attention being paid to the progressive phenomena in the area of culture, literature and art did not result from some expedient uniform political goals; the Lithuanian Communist Party, in proceeding from Leninist principles, foresaw the historical prospect of the decisive self-determination of representatives of culture, artists and writers. The book accents the objective significance of progressive literature and art at the moment when the revolutionary situation arose in Lithuania. And it was no accident that the most talented representatives of Lithuanian literature, art, science and culture were in the first ranks of those who proclaimed and affirmed Soviet authority in the whirlwind of the revolutionary events of 1940. It was no accident not only because the intelligentsia began to feel dissatisfaction with the fascist bourgeois order despite all of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to influence the way of thinking of the intelligentsia in a way favorable to it, the bourgeoisie, but also because the Lithuanian Communist Party, in reacting sensitively to the progressive democratic phenomena in the cultural life of those years, through the truth and its own example of struggle prepared a progressive intelligentsia linked with the people for the crucial historic turning point in the nation and for its taking the path of socialism.

The book of P. Grishkyavichus, "Partiya i kultura," shows in detail and with good argumentation the mobilizing political action of the Lithuanian Communist Party in revealing the progressive and democratic elements of culture even under the conditions of the bourgeois order so that with their help it can establish the foundation of a new socialist culture. The policies of the Lithuanian Communist Party in the area of culture both in that period as well as during the years of Soviet authority were filled with profound humanism in deciding the historical fate of the Lithuanian people and their culture.

In the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, M.S. Gorbachev defined the aim of the party in the area of culture in this way: "The party sees the main task of its cultural policy in providing the greatest possible latitude for the revelation of the capabilities of people and in making their lives intellectually rich and multifaceted. In striving for radical changes for the better in this area as well, it is important to organize all cultural and organizational work in such a way that it can more fully satisfy the intellectual needs of people and meet their interests." (M.S. Gorbachev, "Polititicheskiy doklad Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS XXVI sezdya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza [Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, Politizdat, 1986, p 114)

In the light of the new tasks set by the party congress, great significance is attached to the analysis and generalization of party work in particular areas. "Partiya i kultura," the book of P. Grishkyavichus published on the eve of the congress, therefore has great practical significance.

The higher the cultural level of the Soviet people and the broader is the scope of their intellectual demands, the more current is the question of the quality of the established cultural values and their realization. The assimilation and evaluation of the cultural, artistic and literary heritage are not only not losing importance but on the contrary are becoming more and more significant. During any period of Soviet authority, our party, being

guided by Leninist principles for the formation of culture, has tirelessly and consistently concerned itself with the preservation of everything progressive and valuable that was created by the people and their talent. We are justifiably proud of the tremendous scientific work that has been done not only in preserving the cultural values of the past but also in including them in the system of education and ideological and aesthetic training, above all of young people. The results of this painstaking and systematic and truly scientific work are viewed in the book as one of the most significant achievements of our socialist culture. The Lithuanian people are also proud of the fact that the heights of their cultural heritage rise up not only from the plains of their native land but have become an element of the socialist culture of the peoples of the USSR and this alone completely destroys the calumny of bourgeois propagandists proclaiming the "national dying" of the cultures of the Soviet peoples....

One of the basic positions of Leninist doctrine on culture states that socialist culture is built not on empty space but on the assimilation of the advanced cultural heritage of all of humanity. The idea once propagandized by bourgeois ideologists of the "selection" of the Lithuanian culture and of its "original seclusion" was politically directed against the first socialist country in the world and against the influence of the cultures of its peoples. Even then the struggle of the Communist Party for the international cultural ties of the Lithuanian people established the foundation for today's assimilation of the world cultural storehouse and the exposure of Lithuanian culture in the world arena. This is one of the vital tasks of cultural policy programed and carried out by the party.

In reading the book, "Partiya i kultura," you are again convinced of how strong the connection is between the development of culture, the level of its maturity and activity, and the economic and social changes in the life of the society. Whatever complex problems the Lithuanian Communist Party had to resolve in different areas, often in challenging periods in the construction of socialism, it never neglected the problems of cultural life. It is no secret that in the past serious obstacles stood in the way of cultural development but the party energetically eliminated these obstacles, striving to free all positive resources of creative energy. "It is important not only to be successful in the continuity of culture," writes P. Grishkyavichus, "but to take innovative steps toward its qualitative renewal and for culture to develop rapidly and comprehensively." (p 37) In striving for a new qualitative leap in literature and art, the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party repeatedly stressed that the party supports the creative initiative and creative search of writers and artists and their striving for innovative renewal.

Bourgeois emigres are slanderously accusing Lithuanian Soviet literature and art of the "unification" and "leveling out" of creative individualities, whereby they are by no means doing this out of intellectual blindness but are using this "criticism" to cover their own purely political class objectives of reviving by any means the hopelessly moribund idea of the regeneration of the bourgeois order. By the way, this propaganda is especially characterized by the striving to discuss and forecast the present and future of Lithuanian culture. However insignificant this "criticism" may seem, we always were and

will be vigilant in regard to the intrigues of ideological enemies against our culture. Today the struggle for culture is one of the most current and delicate areas in the irreconcilable confrontation of two ideologies--socialist and bourgeois. The precise characterization of Western "mass culture as an ideological diversion given in the book of P. Grishkyavichus increases the attention of the representatives of our culture being paid to the negative influence of this pseudoculture and likewise to the increase in the ideological, professional and artistic level of the cultural values being created, which makes it possible to resist the pseudoartistic and pseudocultural influence. Again and again the position of the Communist Party is confirmed on the interaction of culture and politics and art and politics as an objective social condition predetermining the progress or regression of culture as a function of the class character of this interaction. This is why the Leninist principle of the party-mindedness and popular nature of art has permanent force in selecting the progressive path both for the individual artist as well as for artistic culture as a whole.

The Communist Party is profoundly interested in the high level of culture, art and literature. The 27th CPSU Congress and the new edition of the CPSU Program adopted there orient the progressive intelligentsia toward the achievement of a new and higher quality. "People build communism and it is built for people. This is the program aim of the party and in the course of its realization there must be an even greater increase in the social role of the creators and propagandists of cultural values--the workers of education, science, art, the press, television and radio and their collectives. The achievements of Lithuanian Soviet culture very clearly indicate that there is a firm foundation for the implementation of this task" (p 285), stresses the book's final chapter, "The Humanistic Meaning of the Party Management of Culture."

In carrying out its cultural policy, the party is striving to see to it that all areas of culture and art are filled with content that exalts and affirms the individual, his labor and happiness. Antihuman and decadent elements declaring spiritual marasmus are foreign to socialist culture and the party is fighting against them and will continue to do so. Today particular significance is being attached to "the extremely important global idea of contemporary democratic socialist culture--the idea of peace. And Lithuanian Soviet culture, considering man to be the highest social and cultural value, actively affirms the idea of the struggle for peace and of the responsibility for the fate of humanity and the values that it has created and for the preservation of peace on earth." (p 286) We include international cooperation of peoples and their cultures among the greatest humanistic values. Thanks to socialist internationalism, the values of the national culture and art of the Lithuanian people are becoming a component of the entire truly democratic universal culture.

The very idea of humanism and its realistic basis provided by Marxism-Leninism is now a very important possession of all peoples of the world and of all working people. Culture with all of its fields and offshoots is the most effective guarantee and conductor of the ideas of progress, democracy and socialism. That is why it is so important for it in its content, form of expression and functional possibilities to correspond to the highest demands

that the party has put forth and is putting forth today. The demanding spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress and its atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism did not bypass the front of our contemporary culture. This is mentioned in the party's program document as well: "As the cultural level of the nation rises, there is an increase in the influence of art on the life of the society and on its moral and psychological climate. This raises the responsibility of the masters of culture for the ideological orientation of creativity and the artistic impact of their works" ("Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. New Edition," PRAVDA, 7 March 1986).

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CULTURE

UNCOORDINATED CONSTRUCTION THREATENS MOSCOW CULTURAL MONUMENTS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Vasinskiy under the "Openly About Public Openness" rubric: "Not for Oneself, Not for One's Descendents"]

[Text] "Shurygin waved to the tractor operators. The teacher darted from his place, ran to the side of the church to which it would fall and stood in front of the wall.

...-Everyone stand in front of the wall! the teacher shouted to all. -Come stand!... They won't dare!...

But no one moved. Everyone was paralyzed by Shurygin's fury. No one spoke. Everyone waited."--V. Shukshin

There is old. And there is age-old. They are not one and the same. Last Sunday I stood among the ruins of a recently demolished church near Podolsk. When told that it had been built in the 17th century, I could no longer fail to recall Shukshin's story, his puny teacher and the "strong fellow", Brigade Leader Shurygin, who before everyone's eyes demolished a village church with three tractors. They say that the demolition here, near Podolsk, also proceeded without any particular complications. "...No one spoke. Everyone waited..." Why are they demolished? The pretexts, as always, are plausible, the reasons valid: The building is in a dangerous condition, on the point of collapse; there'll be hell to pay, they say, if someone gets flattened, and so on. It is bad, of course, when stones fall from above. It was probably reasoned that the best way to deal with falling rocks is to raze the mountain itself. A well-known method. After all, preserving or restoring a monument means prolonged concern for it years and decades into the future--something that is troublesome and, most importantly, continues to weigh on the mind and stay on the agenda. On the other hand, tearing it down means writing it completely off as an item physically and as an object of any concern and thought--to resolve the question, so to speak, once and for all. Once! And it's as though the church never existed.

Just as there won't be a church near Moscow, just as though there never was an Uspenskaya church in the village of Svitino in Podolskiy rayon, never a church in the village of Ryukhovskoye near Volokolamsk, never a wooden church of John Predtechy in the village of Ivanovskoye near Noginsk...

There is old. And there is age-old. The old becomes dilapidated with the years, is condemned and turns to dust. With the age-old, however, the dust is blown away. Because antiquities do not lose their value with time, but on the contrary, acquire greater value. The old is simply unfeeling material, a decayed stone in a fortress wall, the crumbling brick from a church foundation. The age-old, however, is that which these walls embody, that which gives flight to thought, "imparts strength" and provides a legacy, making the impossible possible: a direct conversation between forefathers and descendants, that is, the uninterrupted conversation of an eternal people with itself...

And it must never be that this link is severed somewhere or the whole chain will be loosed.

Sometimes impossible fantasies come to mind. Imagine: What would happen if, for example, the Main Architectural Planning Administration announced the imminent demolition of the Church of Vasiliiy the Blessed under the pretext that it blocks the view of the Rossiya hotel from the Historical Museum on Red Square? Just what would happen? Well, of course, everyone whom Shukshin presented to us in the image of the teacher in his story "A Strong Fellow" would gather. Native Muscovites would come running. Even "non-natives", yesterday's holders of "limited-residence permits", would be touched to the quick.

Good. Following the teacher's example, they would stand in front of the walls. But would everyone take a stand on the side to which the walls will fall? That is the question. Would everyone stand? Or only some?

My thoughts again turn to Shukshin's story and I am again amazed at this writer's talent. That's what genuine talent is! He surmised and explained a phenomenon many years in advance; he knew that the crux of the matter was "...No one spoke. Everyone waited..." To be more precise, the point is not even the silence. After all, Brigade Leader Shurygin subsequently hears his fill of curses from all the village residents, including his wife and mother. So no, the people did not keep silent... There is another issue at hand--how many people are prepared to take a stand on the side to which the walls will fall?

"Stop immediately! On whose orders is this done? This dates from the 17th century!... You have no right! Its enemies never touched it!... I will write!"

These are the shouts of the puny teacher whom Shurygin took in his arms, lifted off the ground and carried away from the wall... Indeed, one can hear something familiar--something of the teacher, something of Shukshin--in the sincere and, alas, not always effective cries and appeals of activists of the Society for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments when they

try, from time to time, to save a given monument from destruction. But the shouts frequently fall on deaf ears, just like the shouts of that teacher who was taken in hand.

Perhaps the Shurygins don't hear, don't give heed or don't understand? It would be tempting to think so. Tempting and...incorrect. I would not be surprised if during an interview in response to the question: "Your favorite quote?", the respectable erudite Shurygin would cite Pushkin's well-known words: "Wildness, baseness and rudeness have no respect for the past; they only grovel before the present." This man of erudition is, doubtless, a member of the All-Russian society for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments and the department that he represents--it is not out of the question--is also an organizational member of the society. (By the way, this pro forma group membership of ours in various societies falls in the category of spiritual report-padding, because it creates an illusion of the presence of many thousand committed people, when in fact a mere handful are present.)

Let's return, however, to our man of erudition. The point is that he suffers from a split personality. At home he is an ardent supporter and connoisseur of antiquities, while at work he has his assignment, plan and front of operations, which are frequently totally incompatible with his love of historical and cultural monuments. It turns out that at home he is one person, at work someone else; to himself he says one thing, aloud something else. To the left, to the right; to yours, to ours. Such incompatibility and duplicity can give rise to a phenomenon in thinking that I would call skewered thinking (a sort of strabismus of the mind) in which one part of the mind controls the pronunciation of proper words, while another part, completely out of sync with the first (another compartment!), controls the contradiction of these words with actions.

I observed something like this phenomenon several times when I was researching a sad story in the area of Moscow's Cherkizovskaya Street, where the church of Ilya Prorok, built in 1690, stands on a hill. Metrostroy is building a subway line there and "swallowing up" a part of the pond located at the bottom of the hill, and a sewer is being laid by the mining and tunneling operations trust MTO-1, in violation of all norms and laws, literally next to the church and cemetery fence, that is, in the very heart of the restricted zone for this monument of republic-wide importance. There are so many violations involved here that no amount of space (much less, patience) would suffice to enumerate them. But I should mention the chief one. Respectable individuals from the previously mentioned Main Architectural Planning Administration assured the USSR Ministry of Culture's scientific and methodological council that all operations would be conducted on the boundary of the restricted zone. However, operations on an unapproved project began--something that is contrary to law. The digging of the sewer caught everyone completely off guard. I will not delve into the technical aspects and speak of vibration and other dynamic effects on the church--that is a special topic. It is more important to discuss something else. It would appear that the respectable Shurygins have already developed a psychological model for the achievement of their goals: They present their "opponents" (in this case, representatives of the republic and USSR Ministries of Culture, as well as representatives of the Society for the Preservation of Monuments) with a fait accompli. They drive into the

restricted area and then attempt to gain belated approval for this entry, so to speak, without climbing down from their open-throttled bulldozers. They are above, in their bulldozers and you are below--How can you talk with them? What is more, they point to the plan, say that the front of operations is supported and that the workers must be paid and here you are with your antiquities, etc. These methods are designed to achieve the following: The "opponents" will make a little noise and exhaust themselves, their ranks will thin, somebody will yield and they will lose heart, only a few individuals will be left and in no time, as it is written in military reports, they "will enter the formerly defended city, now abandoned, without firing a shot..." What is this if not psychology?

Knowledgeable people say that as long as there is no clear-cut historical-architectural support plan for the capital, and for many other cities as well, it will continue to be possible for various types of Shurygins to carry out selective, arbitrary construction and "ad-libbing" to the detriment of originality, aesthetics and taste. I am not an architect but for a long time I have had the urge, while walking along Borodinskiy Bridge on the Kiev Station side, to turn right on the embankment and make inquiries about the absurdly situated white prefab building there, which depending on the angle of view, either virtually blocks out Moscow State University or the cupola of the Novodevichii Monastery... All the same, I recently turned in there and found out that it was a departmental residential building belonging to the nearby silk packing plant, and insofar as this 12-story white dowel is situated on a hill, it appears as a skyscraper from far off and is precisely what strikes the eye from every quarter, blocking everything else from view and accentuating its typicalness. Never mind the director. Just where was the borough architect looking when he approved this gigantic screen on Moscow's soil, or did he only have to answer for this "spot" and bore no responsibility for the view from the bridge and from the opposite side of the Moscow River, since it was already a different borough "there".

Viewing this proudly jutting standardized dowel and recalling the semi-collapsed and neglected historical structures on the outskirts, one thinks: It's truly strange--that which would bring honor to any world capital and would adorn it is in our country frequently allowed to fall into disrepair and bashfully hidden, while that which should justifiably be hidden is shown off and emphasized... Amazing.

Not so long ago I had the opportunity to traverse the "tracks" of the future transportation ring in the area of Moscow's Lefortovskaya Street, Lane and Embankment with a group of architects and representatives of the Society for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments. I must stress that there just aren't that many precious corners of antiquity left in Moscow, which makes it all the more essential to preserve the remaining ones. In this very rayonh, much, unfortunately, will not be preserved and such wonders as, for example, Gospitalnaya Street, will be so reshaped that their proportionality, originality and beauty will be lost. How can one side of the street be left untouched, while the other side is modified and altered with no losses? After all, both sides of the historically evolved street interact aesthetically and emotionally in precisely this, and not some other form!

The transportation line is being laid above ground because underground tunnels, naturally, increase the cost of construction. But just what sort of economization is achieved when irreplaceable architectural relics, on which it is impossible to set a price, are sacrificed to lower costs?

The bulldozers have already gathered steam in the area of Bakuninskaya Street. They are pressing the "teachers" according to the tested plan. Surprisingly, it sometimes takes decades to restore architectural wonders in our country; for example, the old building of the Moscow Artistic Academic Theater imeni M. Gorky has already been under renovation for nine years. In this respect, progress is slow. But as far as destruction and demolition are concerned, there is energy to spare and everything proceeds without a hitch and with fervor even. It's as though two different construction departments are involved. It's as though a different economic mechanism is at work for those who demolish as opposed to those who try to preserve...

Unfortunately, designers have repeatedly presented Muscovites with a fait accompli, which cannot in any way be reversed. Apparently, nothing more profound than extensive preliminary discussion of projects has been devised.

We speak a great deal about public openness, yet all the same, we must all still learn how to live under conditions of public openness and frankness. By no means all of the people who have become accustomed to merely informing the public of decisions they have already made in private are prepared to lose this privilege of nonaccountability, which they view as prestigious. But doesn't openness to that very public presuppose that which lies at the center of this concept--firm conviction and the courageous and complete dignity of a voice that cannot simply be ignored?

We have already said that a genuine struggle to preserve monuments begins at the point where not just the "teachers", but "everyone" decides to oppose the savagery of the Shurygins. The whole world. There are examples of the fruit of this "communal labor", to use the expression of a certain good writer, in the area of the struggle to preserve monuments. This "communality" also affected the posthumous fate of Vasilii Makarovich Shukshin himself. After all, at first only a small, modest, standardized announcement of the death of the writer and cinematographer appeared. The people in the appropriate ministries who are in charge of determining the artist's place in Soviet culture and accordingly deciding what volume to confer on the announcement of this loss--these people did not fully understand and underestimated the extent of what had happened. It suddenly became apparent that the people proudly loved Shukshin and the avalanche of shock and grief signified an enormous, irreplaceable loss and signified it everywhere, among all strata of the population. I remember how the arbiters of volume, who had begun to see the light, could no longer fail to take this love into consideration: articles, obituaries and the like appeared. It could be said that the people, by their love, showed who the deceased writer was to them...

Our initial conversation about the preservation of cherished national objects and valuables has ranged far and wide. That is the nature of the topic itself--it encompasses everything.

Sometimes, readers, impossible fantasies come to mind. Imagine: There is a beautiful mountain somewhere, full of points of interest. A decision is made to build a road to it so that thousands of people can admire its relics. However, stone and gravel is taken from the mountain itself in order to build the road. The whole mountain is carted off. Now there is a road. But the mountain, for the sake of which everything has been done and which was the goal, no longer exists. Amazing.

I remember the trip with the group of architects to the Lefortovo streets. Muscovites will find a great deal missing if the transport ring is built precisely the way it is laid out on the blue prints. There is still time to make some changes and revisions in order for Moscow to preserve its character in this area. After all, it is not for the sake of the transport line, but for Moscow, that the line itself is being built. It is important that we not lose sight of the reason for its existence and its purpose "along the way".

13149

CSO: 1800/487

CULTURE

EXPOSITION OF RESTORED NOVGOROD FRESCOES OPENS IN MOSCOW

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 86 p 1

[PRAVDA correspondent's report on a talk with Saveliy Yamshchikov, head of the restoration department of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute and Honored Art Worker of the RSFSR: "Rescued Frescoes"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The exposition "Rescued Frescoes" is now showing in the Central House of the Artist on the Kremlin wall, 10-14. It recaptures the salvaging of a unique monument of world culture, the fourteenth century frescoes destroyed by the Fascists during the occupation of Novgorod. At the request of a PRAVDA correspondent, one of the organizers of this unusual exhibition, head of the restoration department of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute and Honored Art Worker of the RSFSR, Saveliy Yamshchikov, recounts the years of work on the part of soviet restorers.

The completely leveled Novgorod churches Uspeniye na Volotov Pole and Spas na Kovalevo were undoubtedly a great loss not only for Russian but for world art as well. Before the war, the Kovalevo and Volotovo frescoes were at the center of attention of ancient culture enthusiasts. Even in the capital of Byzantium, Constantinople, no comparable bodies of paintings had survived to our day in such an ideal state of repair. And suddenly, they were no more....

Soviet archeologists and restorers made up their minds to save whatever Kovalevo fragments survived the war, no matter what. In 1962 work was begun to restore the walls of the renowned church. That same year attempts were begun to find methods of reinforcing the layers of paint and plaster. Extracting bits of plaster from the heap of ruins proved to be a complicated undertaking. Care had to be taken not only because the material itself was brittle; a colossal amount of attention and stress were involved due to the presence of unexploded artillery shells. Right on site, the artists sorted the reinforced fragments and packed them in special boxes.

News of the trip to Kovalevo pole by the brigade headed by artist Aleksandr Petrovich Grekov met with a skeptical smile from pessimists. Backed by his wife, Valentina Borisovna, and other faithful assistants, Grekov took on this titanic task. "This is the most heroic, the most vital and the most inspiring restoration project which I have ever witnessed. This is a job which not only involves great technical skill, it also evokes a sense of moral strength."

This is the way academician D. Likhachev recalled the sacrificial feat by the Grekov brigade. And here is what A. Grekov himself has to say about the actual results of the long-term Kovalevo project:

"During the past 20 work seasons some 150,000 fragments have been recomposed wholly or in part. It would be hard to say exactly how many times each fragment passed through the hands of the restorers, underwent relentless scrutiny from all sides, was tried and fitted before its original place could finally be located. By the end of 1985 to one degree or another, a total of 96 compositions had been restored. This makes somewhere in the neighborhood of 180 square meters of frescoes, i.e., one half of the original painting."

This is why we say without any hesitation that the exhibition "Rescued Frescoes" displayed last year at the Paris headquarters of UNESCO and now being held in Moscow sums up what amounts to a titanic effort on the part of our restorers. It contains several originals of assembled frescoes, a photo documentary of the painstaking rebirth process of a masterpiece as well as splendidly executed copies by A. Grekov of numerous restored compositions. Today's exhibition, is but a solemn prelude to be followed by the opening of a fresco museum in Novgorod. Never before has there been a museum in Russia so rich in monuments to monumental painting. Much effort on the part of specialists and funding by the government went into raising the Kovalevo Church frescoes from ruin. However, even now most of the assembled compositions are being kept on the shelves of Grekov's Novgorod studio. They are stored in special trays, not even yet glued to a solid backing. It would take only a single clumsy move, not to mention some natural calamity, and the fragments assembled with such care could fall apart before our very eyes as in a tale with a sad ending. And so for the present, only a handful of persons are able to view the final result of this selfless effort.

One can only hope that the exhibition "Rescued Frescoes" which has enjoyed such immense popularity among contemporary viewers will succeed in putting an end to the disputes, commissions and meetings which even after many years have yet to bring their participants to mutual agreement. A fresco museum needs to be founded in Novgorod and its basic exhibit should feature the Kovalevo treasures. Holdings should then be expanded to include the monumental twelfth-fifteenth century painting from the world-renowned cathedrals of Spas na Neredits, Uspeniye na Volotovo pole, Mikhailovsk Church na Skovorodka, all yet to be restored. The Grekovs are true devotees in the cause. As they seek to apply their considerable experience to the noble task of preserving the monuments of the motherland, they will need the assistance not only of enthusiasts but also of qualified restorers who have completed special institutes and schools.

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CULTURE

SPORTS CLUBS 'NOT IN STEP WITH DEMANDS OF DAY'

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 16 May 1986 carries on page 2 a 3000-word report by E. Iskandarov, deputy director of the Science, Culture and Health Department of the AzSSR Peoples Control Commission, on an investigation of the use of club and sports facilities in Aghsu, Vartashen, Jabrayyl, Kurdamir and Pushkin Rayons. It was determined that "a number of leaders of culture departments, sporting organizations, and cultural-educational institutions are still doing their work in an antiquated manner, and are not in step with the demands of the day." Noting that 90 percent of these clubs are in rural areas, the report claims that "the buildings of social-cultural institutions do not meet contemporary demands." It was also found that many of the buildings were locked up and that organizations existed there only on paper. The report concluded by stating that the matter of the improvement of these services to the rural population "is still not being approached seriously."

POET SPEAKS OF UNITED AZERBAIJAN

[Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN in Azeri No 5, 1986 carried on page 136 a poem by Ramiz Heydar entitled "A Map of Azerbaijan." In a brief introduction to the poem the poet notes that "in the room of Latif Karimov, rug designer and people's artist, a map hung which did not mark the border between Southern and Northern Azerbaijan." Reiterating this lack of border markings in the text of his poem, he adds that "It appeals to me without end/ This map of my country--/ This map without longing,/ This map without borders...."

CHAPTER FROM AZERI NATIONAL LIBERATION NOVEL PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 23 May 1986 carries on pages 4, 7 a 3600-word excerpt from the Iranian Azeri writer Rahim Dagig's novel "Hajar" [a personal name]. In the past Dagig was known primarily as a playwright; in recent years he has turned more to publicistics and literary history. The excerpt's introduction explains that "The novel 'Hajar' is an artistic reflection of the struggle conducted by progressive forces against the Shahist regime in Southern Azerbaijan in the years subsequent to the events of 1945-1946. The major figures in the novel are Hajar and his fighting friends, who belonged to families who were exiled to the South at that time." It is added that the complete novel will be published by Yazychy press in the near future. It is being prepared for publication by the writer Sabir Amirov.

WRITERS UNION CHIEF DISCUSSES IRANIAN AZERBAIJAN

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 30 May 1986 carries on pages 2, 3, 4 a 13,400-word slightly abridged version of the speech by Ismayyl Shykhly, first secretary of the board of the Azerbaijan Writers Union; the speech, delivered at the Eighth Congress of Azerbaijan Writers, touched on Iranian Azerbaijan and its importance as a subject for modern Azeri writers. "Comrades, one of the major themes of our literature, especially our poetry, is the longing, the craving for Southern Azerbaijan. This, according to need, is turning into a turbulent river, the flow of which sometimes surges forth, and sometimes recedes. We do not conceal it: our wound festers. We look at the Araz; we castigate the Araz; we spit out our heartache, the bitterness on our tongues into the Araz." Later on in his speech, he points out that "reactionary forces have strangled freedom and independence once again. They have banned the Azeri language."

COMPOSERS LACK INTEREST IN WRITING PATRIOTIC SONGS

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 16 May 1986 carries on page 5 a 900-word interview with Professor Sabir Guliyev, director of the department of musical instruments at the Azerbaijan State Pedagogical Institute, on current problems in music education. The interview took place at a conference on "improving the training of music teacher cadres for general education schools." With regard to one of the conference sessions devoted to "forming patriotic and internationalistic feelings among students at extracurricular music meetings," Professor Guliyev pointed out that "in our general education schools there are no programs or aids for extracurricular music meetings. Our composers are not giving enough attention or concern to the important question of composing songs on patriotic and internationalistic subjects for schoolchildren."

PRC INCREASES PUBLICATION OF SOVIET LITERARY WORKS

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 21 June 1986 carries on page 7 a 1,200-word article by Doctor of Philological Sciences B. Riftin under the heading "Published in China: Publications of Works by Russian and Soviet Writers Are Growing." The article is devoted to the rise in the numbers of works of classical Russian and modern Soviet literature being published in the PRC and the popularity of Soviet movies there. He notes the rapidity with which contemporary Soviet works are translated and published in China and the breadth of interest, not only in works of Soviet literature but also in works of literary criticism.

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CSO: 1800/509

SOCIAL ISSUES

MOSCOW TV FEATURE ON ALCOHOL ABUSE

LD262137 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1330 GMT on 26 June carries a 30-minute feature entitled "Sobriety--A Norm of Life" on drunkenness and alcoholism. It begins with a televised courtroom drama, in which a man accused of producing moonshine liquor tells the court that he learned the technique from his mother. He pleads guilty and is sentenced to a fine of R300. During his examination he tells the court that he became involved with moonshine because it had become difficult to buy drink these days. Following the courtroom scene, the announcer says: "According to figures from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, at the present criminality through drunkenness has dropped by 21 percent, including street crime by 12 percent, among minors by almost 30 percent. The amount of road accidents has dropped by 27 percent."

The scene moves to a studio interview with Major General Anatoliy Vasiliyevich Anikiyev, first deputy chief of the maintenance of public order Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, replying to viewers' letters on the theme of drink offenses. The interviewer introduces the letters, including one that says that the fight against moonshine-production must be stepped up, and that "the moonshiners have now gone underground."

Anikiyev starts his reply by saying: "Fulfilling the decisions of the party and government, the internal affairs organs have intensified their work to stop drunkenness on the street and in public places. They have started working more actively to stop moonshine production and black marketeering of spirits. People are right when they say that moonshine production has had something of a boost in these conditions where sales of wine and spirits have been restricted." He goes on to talk of the dangers of moonshine both for the health and in terms of severe jail terms for offenders, quoting a specific case from Vinnitsa Oblast, in which a man took to the woods for his dirty business, because the militia would not leave him alone in the town. Anikiyev tells us that in 1985 for moonshine crimes there were two and a half times more people punished than in 1984, and this was not because there were more crimes, but because police activity had increased. The interviewer then presents a selection of letters alleging specific drink offenses which the MVD was asked to investigate, and Anikiyev provides the results but he mentions no sentences.

The next part of the program is excerpts from a Leningrad-made documentary film called "Madness" on the dangers of drinking on holiday. The film shows how young men and women have died through drinking and drowning. We are told that 50 percent of accidents on the water among adults are caused by alcohol abuse.

Finally the program looks at a Moscow clinic specializing in alcohol problems, where the doctor is using drama in an attempt to help his patients. A scene is shown from a play about the problems of a drunk and his girl, followed by interviews with the cast and patients about the value of such drama.

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CSO: 1800/548

SOCIAL ISSUES

MANAGERS NEGLECT RESULTS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 16 May 1986 carries on page 2 a 700-word Azerinform report on a conference of members of the Azerbaijan affiliate of the Soviet Sociology Association. Speakers at the meeting pointed out that "there are still shortcomings and mistakes in the organization of public opinion studies in the republic and in the interpretation of its results. The planning of social development has not turned into a component of the management system at industrial and agricultural institutions, ministries, and chief administration." It was noted that "some enterprise leaders are not giving enough thought to the development of social service departments at the institutions under them, and are not taking the suggestions and recommendations which are scientifically based on sociological research seriously." The meeting was attended by A.F. Dashdamirov, director of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee.

BREAKUP OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES URGED

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 18 May 1986 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial urging private book collectors to break up their libraries in order to give scarce books a wider circulation. Citing examples of a number of people who have donated their books to public organizations, the editorial adds: "Unfortunately, this wonderful effort is still spreading too slowly in the cities, rayons, villages, and districts of our republic. Party, Soviet, trade union, and komsomol organizations must take effective measures to promote this effort. Many private libraries have fallen into neglect and little work is done with them."

'POLITICAL IMMATURITY' NOTED AMONG RECENT GRADS

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 8 May 1986 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial stressing the need for highly qualified specialists in the republic and noting some problems among recent higher school graduates. "Quality is the major question in the training of highly qualified specialists. One must note that many students receiving a higher school diploma are not proving themselves in production. Among them, one comes across youths who are politically and theoretically immature. There is a lack of competence and innovation in approaching the scientific solution of problems within a definite group of the graduates. Certainly, one can find some reasons for these shortcomings in the fact that the admissions process is not held at the necessary

level, resulting in mistakes in the admission of graduate students, in the low level of their preparation, and even the low level of preparation of general education school graduates. Despite the fact that much work has been done to ensure objective admissions examinations in the republic in recent years, we cannot say that the talents accepted by training institutions have been correct in the true meaning of the word."

WOMEN'S COUNCILS TOLD TO BE MORE ACTIVE

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 18 May 1986 carries on page 2 a 1300-word Azerinform report on the 16 May Baku conference of Women's Councils. The report was read by A. Jafarzade, chairperson of the Republic Council of Women under the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee. It was noted that "the activity of women's councils in the area of directing women toward the solution of problems in speeding up scientific-technical problem-solving, toward resourcefulness and effectiveness, is unsatisfactory. There is great scope for activity within women's councils in developing the trade and service sector and improving the work of consumer service institutions.

/12232

CSO: 1830/645

'R3 MILLION PER YEAR' STOLEN FROM AZERBAIJAN FACTORY

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 16 May 1986 carries on page 4 an unsigned 500-word report under the rubric "At the AzSSR Procuracy" announcing that "the republic procuracy has exposed an organized group engaged in the theft of socialist property at the Dalmammadli cotton cleaning factory and a number of cotton plantations in Gasym Ismayylly Rayon." It is pointed out that as a result of the criminal actions, the thieves were able to extract approximately 3 million rubles a year from the factory since 1982. The report claims that "the lack of effective control over the work of the cotton cleaning factory by the Ministry of the Cotton Cleaning Industry created the conditions for the long-term activity of the thieves. Now, their criminal activities have been ended and the criminals arrested."

/12232

CSO: 1831/436

SOCIAL ISSUES

BRIEFS

SUPPLY ORGANIZATION CENSURED--Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 June 1986, first edition carries on page 3 under the headline "Window-dressers" and the rubric "At the USSR People's Control Committee" a 500-word article censuring the Moscow main territorial administration of the USSR Gossnab [Mosglavsnab] for "putting into circulation above-normative stocks of material assets accumulated at enterprises and organizations in Moscow, Kalinin, Ryazan, and Smolensk oblasts." The article states that "in order to create a semblance of prosperity in this work the leaders of the Mosglavsnab have been deceiving the state by overreporting sums allegedly involved in the production of material assets." The article states that as a result of the Mosglavsnab leaders' "criminal negligence" the state has lost more than R720,000, and concludes: "The committee severely punished Yu. Kapustin, chief of the Mosglavsnab; and V. Potemkin, chief of the USSR Gossnab administration for the saving and rational use of material resources. A statement by V. Yakovlev, deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab, that the guilty officials would be brought strictly to account, that the struggle against mismanagement, overreporting, and window-dressing would be stepped up, and that the standard of work to bring above-normative and unutilized material assets into circulation would be improved, was taken into consideration." [Editorial Report] /9738

CSO: 1830/634

25 August 1986

REGIONAL ISSUES

BOOKS EXAMINE CHANGING KIRGHIZ VILLAGE, LABOR FORCE

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 27 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by V. Sherstobitov, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz SSR: "The Kirghiz Village at the Contemporary Stage"]

[Text] The new edition of the CPSU Program characterizes today's social changes in the village in this way: "In the course of the consistent execution of the party's agrarian policy there is occurring a transformation of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor, and the elimination of the essential social, cultural and everyday differences between the cities and the country; the way of life and the character of labor of the peasantry is becoming more and more similar to the way of life and character of labor of the working class."

These processes, which are natural for the whole country, are explored, based on material of the Kirghiz SSR, in two recently released books by I.S. Boldzhurova, candidate of history. (Footnote) (see "Kolkhoznoye krestyanstvo Kirgizii v usloviyakh razvitogo sotsializma" [The Kolkhoz Peasantry of Kirghizia under Developed Socialism], Izdatelstvo "Ilim" Frunze, 1985; "Vozrastaniye rukovodyashchey roli KPSS v razvitii sovremennykh sotsialnykh protsessov na sele (na materialakh partiynoy organizatsii Kirgizii) [The Growth of the CPSU's Leading Role in the Development of Contemporary Social Processes in Rural Areas (Based on Materials of the Kirghizia Party Organization)], Izdatelstvo "Kyrgyzstan" Frunze, 1985)

The author gives much attention to the fundamental principle of profound social-economic improvement in the village and to the development of productive forces in the republic's agriculture, to get it onto the track of intensification. The books convincingly show the achievements of Kirghizia in realizing the measures of the CPSU, which were directed at the qualitative renewal of the material-technical base of agricultural production, at an increase in the energy supply to labor, and at an increase in cultivated land, at improvements in agriculture, and so on.

The books disclose the Kirghiz Communist Party's work in raising the labor activity of the kolkhoz peasantry and all agriculture workers, which has strengthened the republic's contribution to the all-union division of labor (especially in the production of cattle-breeding products and sugar beet and

alfalfa seeds). They also examine the development of socialist competition among kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers, the enrichment of its form and content, and the perfection of a system for the material and moral stimulation of the competitors.

Among the books' merits is their analysis of the way production relations have developed in the republic's agriculture. The author deals with the process of concentration and the transformation to social-sector production expressed in the creation of agro-industrial, scientific-production and other associations, and in the increased scale of inter-farm cooperation in the agrarian sector of the economy. She correctly linked this process with further integration between the kolkhoz-cooperative and state forms of socialist property, and with the drawing together of the city and the village.

The author treats questions improving the management and organization of agricultural production in order to raise the interest of the workers in receiving high end results (for example, the problem of the brigade contract, and others). The ongoing changes in the sphere of rural production relations are correctly evaluated by the author as an expression of the restructuring of the life of Soviet society according to the collectivist principles inherent to socialism.

For the first time in the historiography of Kirghizia, I. Boldzhurova explores in detail the contemporary inner-class structure of the republic's kolkhoz peasantry. A significant rise in the general educational, cultural-technical and professional level of peasantry has been noted over the last two decades. The machine operator has become the central figure in the village. There is an increase in the size of the group of kolkhoz farmers connected with mechanized labor (the master of machine milking, apparatchiki, cattle-breeding technicians, operators of poultry farms, and so on. There is a similar increase among who service the mechanisms (master-repairers, electricians, fitters-sanitation technicians, and others).

There is a growing number of kolkhoz workers occupied with regular work in kolkhoz repair shops, subsidiary enterprises or shops, and in the sphere of cultural and personal services to the population. On the other hand, the proportion of unskilled, manual, and horse-powered laborers is decreasing. The number of specialists in the rural kolkhoz is growing.

The author singles out two tendencies in the social development of the peasantry: in the first place, the growing together of agrarian and industrial labor, which assists in eliminating the significant differences between the working class and the peasantry, the city and the country; in the second place, the growth in the "proportion of mental labor" (the new edition of the CPSU Program) in the work of the peasantry, which brings it closer to the intelligentsia and testifies to the formation of a homogeneous Soviet society.

The books describe ways to raise the general education and professional level of the kolkhoz peasantry and the system for training machine-operation specialists in the republic; they also give a few recommendations for improving the

system. Much attention is given to the problem of organizing labor resources in kolkhoz production in Kirghizia. Taking into account the demographic situation in the republic, the low level of social mobility of the rural inhabitant, and the intra- and inter-republic migration of the population, I. Boldzhurova concludes that there are significant surplus labor resources in the country, and expresses a number of thoughts on ways of using them rationally.

The author also dwells upon such important problems as raising the well-being and improving the conditions of labor and life of the rural workers in Kirghizia. Based on a large amount of factual material, one discovers an approximation of the levels of real incomes of the kolkhoz farmers, workers, and white-collar employees; the role of public funds of consumption in the attainment of a higher and higher degree of social equality in society is noted. Using specific rayons as an example, the books show the persistent struggle to liquidate the degree to which Kirghiz rural life still lags behind the real economic possibilities of the kolkhozes and the people's needs for improvement in the cultural life of the population.

The objective changes in production and in the conditions of labor and life, the author stresses, lead to increased spiritual needs, to an enrichment of social psychology and of the ideological-political make-up of the multinational peasantry of the republic, and to improvement in its socialist way of life.

I. Boldzhurova assigns a definite place to questions of expanding the kolkhoz democracy, of raising the activity of the kolkhoz workers in managing production and the social development of the village (by means of interested participation in the activity of the soviets of the people's deputies, of the trade unions and Komsomol organizations, of women's soviets, of groups of people's control, of soviets of kolkhozes, village gatherings, and so on). The author elucidates in detail the problem of the role of the party in the economic and social life of the village. She investigates the increase in the communists and in the number of party organizations and party groups in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes; and she describes the improvement in the form and style of party work. She notes a strengthening of party influence over the crucial links in agricultural production, over the struggle of rural workers for the realization of the Food Program.

The author substantiates her conclusion that the republic's village party organizations play a role in guiding the economic and social progress of the village, and in realizing complex social-economic, ideological-political and educational tasks; they bind the party tightly with the masses.

On the whole, while favorably evaluating the books by I. Boldzhurova, one should also note a shortcoming which is characteristic of them as well as other similar types of research: a disproportion in the depth and care of analysis of rural social-economic processes, on the one hand, and social-political ones, on the other.

And yet a picture of the social development of the country cannot be complete without a detailed disclosure of the social and political activity of the

village workers, their spiritual-moral make-up, their collective psychology, and internationalist consciousness.

The works being reviewed display the great creative potential of the young author; whose active involvement in the study of topical problems of perfecting socialism is in accordance with the spirit of the party's high demands towards social scientists expressed in the documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

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